/144 cont./

411 quiver. Sometimes the arrows are in a special quiver made of
[237] eland horn or bark, which is closed off at both ends with a leather cover (see Photos. 29 and 32).

The Auin almost always carries in his quiver a small container like the arrow quiver of eland horn or bark just described, in which he keeps arrowheads, poison, and other small necessities for shooting.

The notched end of the arrow is pulled toward the chest when the bow is drawn.

714 The war cap is to be regarded as the sole battle ornament. It is made of aardwolf hide (see Photo. 21).

H. Hunting and Agriculture

224 Hunting is done both individually and in groups.

Hunting dogs are to be found in occasional, isolated instances,
[231] [439] but then they are usually obtained from the Kaffir or Betschuana. The Auin maintain, however, that they know how to train hunting dogs. Collars and the like are not customary.

/145/ [Fig. 8 appears here.]

[422] I was unable to discover whether marks of ownership are applied to weapons and the like. On the other hand, I noticed that people immediately recognize their possessions.

There are no closed seasons on hunting.

The Auin prepares a kind of dried meat. Pieces of meat of any
251 length and width are cut very thin (almost transparent) and are dried on trees in the sun. This dried mass, as hard as wood and inedible to a European, keeps for weeks during the dry season. There must be an almost unlimited surplus of meat available, how-
[264] ever, if the Auin is to decide to preserve some, since he is accustomed to stuff himself to the point of unconsciousness. I have seen a single Bushman, without any help, consume a fully grown Klipbok weighing about six kilograms.

224 Undoubtedly there are especially industrious and impassioned huntsmen, as well as the opposite. I found some people who were absolutely useless on the hunt.

[Text continues on page 25]

/147 cont./

223 noose is released when the animal takes the bait, and at the same time the gallows springs back and pulls the animal up in the air by its neck. Concerning the material used to make the noose, see page 41 . The arrowheads of the Auin are generally
411 poisoned. I have also found arrows which had only a single unpoisoned bone point. These are used for sport, perhaps also for killing small birds.

278 Manufacture of the arrow poison. Burkea africana (firewood of the Bushmen) is inhabited during the rainy season by a beetle (or a species of termite?) which toward the end of the rainy season pupates in the soil under the tree. The larvae are dug up, killed, dried in the sun, and rubbed between stones.

Roots of the thorny tschamma (Cucumis heptactylus Naud.) are laid on red-hot coals, taken out warm, and the bitter sap pressed out. This sap is mixed with the poisonous paste, and the resulting dirty, reddish-brown preparation represents the finished arrow poison. The poison is applied to the arrow point in a layer several millimeters thick and dries there.

278 The Bushmen greatly fear their own arrow poison and always
411 carry the poisoned point hidden in the shaft. The poisoned end is exposed only just before it is to be used. The layer of poison on the iron points, which because of their width cannot be concealed in the arrow shaft, is always wrapped with bast which is not taken off until the arrow is to be used. All Auin can make arrow poison and readily demonstrate the process.

224 The decorative scars described on page 16 are to be regarded
304 as hunting trophies.

521 The hunters supposedly tell exaggerated tales. Quarrels on
578 these occasions sometimes end in bloodshed.

● [231] The only domestic animal is the dog.

757 The Bushman doctor is supposed to let blood for healing purposes. For instance, in the case of a man who could not run well, bloody incisions were made in his upper thigh. On the other hand, I do not know whether this procedure can be described as "bloodletting." Scars from such incisions were shown to me several times.

413 The surgical instrument is a little sharpened piece of iron.

#AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[76 cont.]

411 (192) The little bow (!naru) is made from the //ne bush and is much shorter than that of the !Kung. The arrow and the arrow point are called tschi. They have arrows with iron points like the !Kung, as well as others made of bone. The accompanying figures show the two types, which have already been sufficiently described by other authors. The arrow points found in older collections, on which the poison is applied not only at the tip but also in lines or dots of little lumps on the contact piece, are now no longer in use. The bows of the Naron are also small, and they likewise have two kinds of arrows. The arrow shafts are made of reed, which is used only in a few places. In addition, all these tribes have root-stock clubs. Spears (kuku) are bartered [439] from the Ovambo in exchange for ostrich egg beads. Bleek 231 writes [77] of the Naron that formerly they had no dogs at all, and Kaufmann reports that the ǂAuin have very few dogs. The Nogau had all kinds of mongrels, but none of any peculiar strain. Two animal stories should be told in this connection:

539 1. A large bird killed a duiker. Then the hyena came and took the duiker. The hyena met the jackal. The jackal said: "Hyena, you should not go where you want to go, otherwise bad things will happen to you!" But the hyena went anyway, and the great bird (!gui) came and tied the hyena's feet together and made a fire by its feet. Since then the hyena has black legs and dares not kill anything living. But the jackal also went stealing, whereupon the great bird seized him and held him with his back to the fire; since then it has a black stripe across its back.

2. The lion came to the watering place; then the frog came out of the water and mocked the lion. The latter wanted to kill the frog, but only scratched it on its back; the frog quickly jumped into the water again, but since then it has black stripes on its back. [Fig. 27 appears here.]

10. Clothing and Ornaments

291 The clothing of the man consists of the cap, made from the hide of the jackal, the jumping hare, or the duiker, and the loincloth, sandals, and the hide bag. In general the clothing of these Bushmen is not essentially different from that of the Bushmen

3: Lebzelter--161 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!KUNG

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Camp of the !Kung along the Upper Omuramba u Ovambo.

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516

The author Negotiating with !Kung Bushmen in the Otjimpolo Veld.

Plate III. !Kung

The Bushmen are one of the most primitive peoples living on earth. Although most of their groups own some metal objects, Bushmen do not smelt or forge metal, but get it in trade from their Bantu neighbors. They use soft metal in the making of a few tools such as knives, arrowheads, and little axes, cold-hammering the metal into shape themselves. Bushmen make the other tools they use from wood and bone, grass and fiber, the things of the veld. They dig roots and pick berries to eat because they have no crops. The desert is too dry for anything but desert plants to grow naturally, and Bushmen, who quickly consume all the wild food available in one place, cannot stay anywhere long enough to tend crops or wait for them to grow.

There is not enough water to water livestock, and for this reason Bushmen have no domestic animals. Most of their groups do not even have dogs. Instead of herding, Bushmen hunt wild antelope with tiny arrows, sometimes made of soft, traded metal, sometimes made of bone, and poisoned with a terrible poison extracted from a certain grub, a poison which affects the nervous system of a creature and which is so deadly that an antelope shot early in the morning with a single arrow well placed in the body dies within the day. Hunting is very difficult, for travel in the veld is thirsty and rigorous and the antelope are clever, but as often as not the Bushmen hunters shoot one and then they use it all. Most of the meat is dried to preserve it, causing it to last at least a few weeks, but sooner or later every last bite of it is eaten, even the mucous lining of the nostrils and the gristle inside the ears. They sometimes eat the hide, sometimes work it into leather to use for clothing, and if the antelope bones are not all cracked for the marrow, pieces are worked into arrow points to shoot another antelope.

In order to live as they do, Bushmen must travel through

412 The women possess several other tools which are of subsidiary importance in the food quest:

- wooden mortar and pestle
- wooden spatula for moving ashes
- carved wooden serving spoon
- tortoise shell bowl
- bundle of tail feathers for fanning the cooking fire
- pottery containers of Bantu manufacture
- iron pots and enamel bowls of European manufacture.

415 177 224 411 The mens' hunting kit represents the most evolved sector of Bushmen technology. It includes at least 19 different tools made from seven kinds of raw materials. The primary weapons include:

[177] 1. bow
[278] 2. arrow poison
[231] 3. spear
4. springhare probe
5. knobkerrie(club)
6. iron tipped arrows
7. quiver
8. hunting dogs
9. rope snares

Secondary weapons include:

[312] 10. fire drill
[177] 11. flint and steel fire making kits
[412] 12. digging stick
[283] 13. iron knife
[177] 14. iron adze-axe
15. carrying yoke
16. knotted net

000 Shaw et al. 1963, Story 1964:93).

224 411 The !Kung weaponry consists of specialized weapons for killing, retrieving, and preparing different species of game. The bow and arrow are used to kill only the large antelopes, kudu, wildebeeste and gemsbok. The thirteen-foot-long burrow probe is used exclusively for hooking springhare [223] which sleep in their burrows during the day time. Rope snares are set to trap small buck such as duiker and steenbok, as well as the game birds such as guinea fowl, francolin and 224 korhaan. Fire is used in two ways. First it is used to smoke 372 out or asphyxiate wart hog, antbear and porcupine that have [412] been cornered in burrows. If an animal dies in the burrow, it is then dug out by means of a digging stick. Fire is also used during late winter to set bush fires. These fires burn off the old cover of vegetation and encourage new growth which will attract game animals to the burned area.

224 411 The spear is not used as a weapon of attack, but is employed to finish off animals that have been weakened by [231] poisoned arrows or that have been wounded by the Bushmen dogs.

The knobkerrie(club) is also used to finish off wounded [223] or cornered animals. Occasionally it is used as a throwing [231] club to knock down small birds and squirrels. This appears to be more of a pastime than a serious technique since the animals knocked down this way are usually fed to the dogs or just cast aside.

224
• 231 The pack of hunting dogs is perhaps the most important weapon at the disposal of the hunters. Most men own one or more dogs, but few men have developed and trained an effective hunting pack. The possession of such a pack gives a hunter a considerable advantage in killing. A good pack may number only three dogs. Often two men will pool their dogs and make a temporary pack of four or five dogs. The dogs are the crucial factor in the successful hunting of wart hog. They can run a wart hog to ground where it can be smoked out at the hunter's leisure or they may bring a hog to bay on the surface, attacking and harassing it until the hunter can close in with his spear.

The dogs are equally important in the hunting of steenbok and duiker. A good pack may often run ahead of a hunter and attack and kill the quarry before the hunter has arrived on the scene. This is the most common way that the immature of steenbok, duiker, and wart hog are killed. The dogs are generally helpful in tracking all game where their sense of smell supplements the hunters' remarkable visual acuity. The typical Bushman dog is a small animal (twenty inches tall at the shoulder) of undistinguished appearance. It is a shorthaired breed varying in color from black to buff with many piebald forms. The blood lines are difficult to trace. According to Brian Fagan (personal

224 communication), there were no domesticated dogs in the South
• 231 African Later Stone Age until the arrival of the Bantu. It
[174] is not possible to say at present when dogs were introduced into !Kung Bushmen culture. The !Kung themselves say that they have had dogs "since time began".

Data on the hunting success of seven men of the Dobe winter camp will illustrate the importance of dogs in hunting. In July, 1964, during a four week period the seven men of the camp spent a total of seventy-nine man days hunting. Between them they killed a total of eighteen animals. The estimated total weight in meat of these eighteen kills was approximately 434 pounds. Six of the men lacked good hunting dogs. These men accounted for 110 pounds of meat or 25% of the total. The seventh man was the only one with a good hunting pack. With his dogs he killed the remaining 75% of the meat (324 pounds) including four adult wart hog.

[184] Considering the importance of dogs in Dobe area hunting it is interesting that dogs were not used for hunting by the Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae area (J. Marshall 1957; and personal communication).

224 Finally there were several limited techniques that required no specialized equipment. Occasionally men run down immature animals on foot. These are dispatched with a club of any handy piece of wood. Also, on occasion, the men

224 The snared animal is not injured. It hangs suspended on the rope and struggles to break free, but if the hunter has tied his knots well he will arrive on his daily inspection to find the snared buck thrashing around the sapling. He then dispatches the buck with a club or spear, repairs the damage to the brush fence, and resets the snare.

At the height of the snaring season each hunter will have three lines in operation. Each line will have 7-9 gaps set with snares. The Dobe camp hunters who had set 20-25 separate snares averaged one small animal per hunter per week throughout the winter. A hunter's success in snaring depends upon his interpretation of game tracks and the patience with which he habituates the animals to crossing his lines where he wants them to. The hunters operate snarelines only in the winter because at other times of the year both the hunters and the quarry are ranging farther into the desert and the men do not remain long enough at one camp to build and maintain the snarelines.

[278] [231] In addition to the snarelines, the hunters carry out a full range of hunting activities including big game hunting with poison arrows, hunting wart-hog with dogs, and probing burrows for springhare, porcupine and antbear.

Table 7 lists all the kills made by the hunters of the Dobe camp during the 28 day period from 6 July to 2 August 1964.

TABLE 7

221 224 • 231 433

The kills made by the hunters of the Dobe camp during a 28-day period (6 July to 2 August 1964).

Date	Hunter	Species	Technique	estimated weight of meat
July				
7.	ǂoma	wart hog	with dogs	80 lbs.
7.	ǂoma//gwe	steenbok	snare	12
9.	/ase	steenbok	snare	12
17.	ǂoma	wart hog	with dogs	80
20.	ǂoma	wart hog	with dogs	80
20.	ǂoma//gwe	honey badger	snare	10
20.	ǂoma//gwe	python	collected	20
21.	/ase	steenbok	snare	12
23.	nǂeysin:a	steenbok	snare	12
23.	ǂoma//gwe	hare	snare	3
24.	ǂoma	bat-eared fox	with dogs	4
27.	/ase	hare	snare	3
27.	ǂgau	korhaan	snare	2
27.	nǂeysin:a	korhaan	snare	2
28.	ǂoma	wart hog	with dogs	80
29.	ǂoma//gwe	kori bustard	snare	10
30.	nǂeysin:a	steenbok	snare	12
31.	/ase	porcupine	cornered in burrow	20
				454 lbs.[1]

[1] In addition to the meat from these 18 kills, the Dobe Bushmen received gifts of meat from other camps. The weight of meat from these outside sources is estimated at 36 lbs. Therefore, the total meat eaten at Dobe was around 490 lbs.

224
[162]
[361] There were nine adult men resident at this camp but only seven did any hunting. The eighth man was blind and the ninth was crippled. The seven hunters were n/eysin!a (60 yrs.) and his son /oma (35 yrs.); /oma//gwe (65 yrs.) and his three sons /ase (40 yrs.), /gau (35 yrs.), and n/eysi (27 yrs.); and /gaun!a (40 yrs.), the son-in-law of n/eysin!a.

[231] The most successful hunter, /oma (35 yrs.), hunted 16/28 days and killed four wart hogs and a bat-eared fox, all killed with the aid of dogs. Next was /ase (40 yrs), who hunted nine days. He snared two steenbok and a hare and killed a porcupine by cornering it in its burrow and digging it out.

Then there were the two old men both of whom hunted 16 days each. /oma//gwe snared a steenbok, a honey badger, a hare and a kori bustard, and collected a python. N/eysin!a snared two steenbok.

Old /oma//gwe's two younger sons hunted nine and eight days, respectively. The older of the two, /gau, snared one korhaan; the youngest son, n/eysi, also snared one korhaan.

Finally old n/eysin!a's son-in-law, /gaun!a, hunted four days but killed nothing.

[146] The seven men hunted a total of 79 man-days and killed 18 animals; the total weight of meat is estimated at 454 lbs. In addition, they received gifts of meat from other camps

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

verdure may be found, such as various Acacias, the principal of which are the Kameeldoorn (*Acacia giraffae*) and the Ana (*Acacia albida*). The leaves and pods of the latter provide the staple food for the cattle, sheep and goats in these parts. Other characteristic vegetable growths are the inflammable candle bush (*Sarcocaulon Burmanni*) and, in the area inland from Walvis Bay, the famous *!naras* (*Acanthosicyos horrida Welw.*), a leafless cucurbitaceous plant with an edible melon-like fruit which when in season forms practically the sole article of diet of the natives. In one or two spots is found the most remarkable of all, the unique gymnosperm, *Welwitschia mirabilis*, which during a long lifetime produces only two pairs of leaves.

At the Olifants River commences another tract of country, characterized by mountains of the folded type, which extend in parallel ranges, separated by wide valleys, over the whole southern portion of the Cape Province as far east as Humansdorp. From the narrow coastal strip fringing this tract the ground rises more or less abruptly to the mountains of the Folded Belt. To the west the rise is gradual through the fertile Goudini valley of Worcester district; further eastward the vegetation and climate partake more and more of the Karroo character, the Oudtshoorn valley and the many kloofs to the east being generally known as the Southern Karroo. The scenery here rapidly changes to bare uninteresting veld, traversed by deep gullies which are generally dry in the summer. In all directions the landscape is bounded by barren-looking mountains, whose steep, rocky sides appear from a distance to be entirely destitute of vegetation. Nothing can exceed the contrast between the scenery on the opposite slopes of the coast ranges: the traveller from the south, after ascending through luxuriant vegetation, frequently clothed in mist, emerges suddenly into a region of precipices and rocks, where rain may not have fallen for months. The soil in the valleys, however, is fertile when it can be brought under irrigation.

The total annual rainfall is by no means deficient, the average for the region being about 29·5 inches, although it varies greatly according to locality. The average for the Cape Peninsula is 40 inches, most of it falling on the eastern side of Table Mountain. Immediately to the east of Cape Town and as far as Knysna there is a decrease to between 15 and 20 inches. The rainfall then becomes more abundant, the well-wooded Knysna itself being one of the best-watered districts of South Africa, with an average rainfall of 40 inches. Further inland, except on the mountain slopes, the rainfall is much less, and the range

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

out by the hunter, who, however, keeps the skin, sinews, etc., for himself. 224

The Cape Bushmen occasionally dressed themselves up in the skin of an animal or in the feathers of an ostrich in order to approach the game unsuspected. A kind of saddle made of grass in which were stuck ostrich feathers was placed on the shoulders, while a long stick with the head curved to look like an ostrich was carried in the hand. The hunter by imitating the motions of the bird feeding, running or preening its feathers contrived to get as close to the flock as possible, always moving up wind, before discharging his poisoned arrow. In a well-known rock painting from Herschel reproduced by Stow[1] there is portrayed such a scene, in which the hunter is shown under the feathers of an ostrich, cautiously approaching, with poised arrow, a number of real ostriches who are feeding peacefully close by. Similar disguises are employed by the Namib Bushmen, but appear to be generally unknown among the tribes further north, although the ostrich disguise is reported by Dornan of the Hiechware and on hearsay by Kaufmann of the Auen. Various other ruses are known, however. Some men are very clever at imitating the calls of various birds and animals and by this means get quite close and thus secure their quarry. Again, "in the season when the young animals are not able to follow their dams, they are hidden by the mothers, who feed in the vicinity. The Bushmen having found where a young one is hidden, will go close up to it and imitate its cry. The mother, hearing the cry and thinking that some wild animal has attacked her calf, immediately rushes up to protect it, and is easily killed. Numbers of animals, more especially the smaller buck, are destroyed in this manner."[2] 223 825 [292] [532] [184] 224 825

Almost every Bushman village has also a large number of dogs which accompany their masters on the hunt.[3] These are the only domestic animals possessed by the Bushmen. They are lean, hungry-looking mongrels, half-starved and savage-tempered. They are quite silent on the spoor and never betray the presence of the hunters by barking, though they will snarl and sometimes bark if one approaches an encampment. "It is really wonderful," says Herbst, "with what courage these lean mongrels will tackle a leopard, a courage no doubt begotten of hunger and an absolute confidence in their masters, who, with their knobkerries, are never far behind so 224 [231]

[1] Stow, op. cit., pl. vii, facing p. 82.
[2] Dornan, op. cit., 105; cf. Kaufmann, op. cit., 146.
[3] Lichtenstein, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 262–3; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275; Herbst, *Report on Rietfontein Area*, 6; Range, *Beiträge zur Landeskunde des Namalandes*, 73; Schultze, op. cit., 667; Dornan, op. cit., 103–4; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 16.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

224 soon as the dog has gripped his prey." Among the Naron these dogs are procured from BeChwana, Bergdama or white men in order [231] to hunt jackals, leopards, lynxes and other animals whose skins are [439] valued for making karosses. The skins so obtained are brought to the giver of the dog and bought by him at his own price for tobacco or trade goods, chiefly the former. The dogs are sometimes used by the people to catch hares and small buck for their larder, but are never taken out to hunt larger game.

In addition to these different methods of hunting by pursuit and the use of weapons, the Bushmen employ various methods of trapping. Pitfalls are often made during the dry season in the path to a waterhole or along river banks, and covered with bushes. In the Central and Northern Kalahari these pits are about four yards long and deep, and not quite a yard wide. They are dug with the ordinary digging-stick in such a way that a small wall of earth is left standing in the middle, but not reaching to the surface. Large animals in attempting to escape out of the pit jump on to this partition wall, where they remain hopelessly suspended on their belly. Other pits of the same nature, especially among the Southern Bushmen, often have pointed stakes placed in the middle. They serve to catch big game animals, such as rhinoceros, which are then killed with the spear, and in particular those, like zebras and antelopes, which come down in herds to drink at the water. In former times, when there was a far greater abundance [136] of game, whole valleys were sometimes enclosed, and large numbers of men combined to drive a herd of game down from the heights into the trap in the valley. Galton describes one of the most remarkable works of this kind. "We passed a magnificent set of pitfalls which the Bushmen who live about these hills had made. The whole breadth of the valley was staked and bushed across. At intervals the fence was broken, and there broken deep pitfalls were made. [313] The strength and size of timber that was used gave me a great idea of Bushman industry, for every tree had to be burned down and carried away from the hills, and yet the scale of the undertaking would have excited astonishment in far more civilized nations. When a herd of animals was seen among the hills, the Bushmen drove them through this valley up to the fence; this was too high for them to jump, so that they were obliged to make for the gaps, and there they tumbled into the pitfalls."[1]

[1] *Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa*, 106; cf. Wikar, "Berigt aan den ... Heer van Plettenberg," 88–9; Burchell, *Travels in S. Africa*, I, 386–7; Chapman, op. cit., ii, 80–1; Passarge, "Das Okawangosumpfland und seine Bewohner," 695; *idem*, *Die Buschmänner*, 78–9.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

big game, especially wild horses and mules. There are in those parts wild horses and mules, both so beautifully bred out by nature that no painter is skilful enough to paint them true to life with all their colouring. The horses have buttocks extraordinarily dappled, and over the rest of the body are striped yellow, black, red and pure sky blue. The mules are also striped, white and chestnut brown, but not dappled, and are uncommonly beautiful.[39]) The Sonquas in 1662 brought the skin of one of these beasts to the Cape, which our countrymen bartered from them for tobacco and other things. It was then filled with straw and hung up for show in the hall of the Fort, as something curious and uncommon, which it also is, to be seen by the people of the incoming ships.[40])

The meat of the rock-rabbits constitutes a pleasant food for the Sonquas, who live principally on it and on certain roots growing in the ground. They also keep many hunting dogs,[40a]) trained to hunt the rock-rabbits which are their principal food, and knowing how to drag these animals out of their holes.

They are extremely great plunderers and marauders. They steal from other Hottentots all the cattle they can get, with which they then flee immediately to the mountains, where they cannot be found in their retreats and hidden caves by anybody, not even by other Hottentots.

Their huts, made only of branches twined together, without woven mats, and covered solely with rushes, are several thousand in number; for they move about from one place to another, and never break up the huts, but erect still others wherever they camp.

Their little cloaks are sewn together from the skins of the wild oxen which live on the rocks. The women have a *quitazol* or sunshade of ostrich feathers, tied on and about the head, to protect themselves from the heat and burning of the sun's piercing rays.

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had shot a wild horse below the mane in the neck. This horse was very beautifully gray dappled over its whole body, except behind from the back over the buttocks and along the legs which were flame-coloured, with white, sky blue and reddish brown stripes, wonderfully beautiful . . . It had small ears like a horse. The stuffed heads and pieces of skin which the Hottentots sometimes brought to us belong evidently to another sort, as they have long ears, though extraordinarily, curiously and beautifully flame-coloured in white and chestnut brown."

[40a]) Dogs were the only domestic animals kept by the Bushmen. They were generally lean, hungry-looking mongrels, half starved and savage tempered, but excellent assistants in the chase, for which they were mainly employed.